

597 before him and was given the name "Tiger." The new father then led the boy to the family graveyard, taking with him some wine, steamed rolls, meat, paper, and sticks of incense. The boy knelt and honored the spirit of the earth with a libation of wine poured on the ground. He then honored his new ancestors, kneeling and prostrating himself and making a burnt offering of paper and incense. Returning home, the boy was congratulated by the guests who called him by his new name, and he in return honored all the guests as a group by prostrating himself nine times. The ceremonies concluded with a dinner for the guests. The boy was happy with his fine new clothes, and willing to stay with a family that was so much better off than the one into which he had been born. His father went home, driving a nice cow before him. The boy was to be considered not only as "belonging" to his new family, but as being descended from his new father's ancestors and as fully integrated into the family.

INTERPERSONAL BEHAVIOR IN THE FAMILY

596 The structure of a Monguor family can be clearly
596 seen when a guest is entertained at dinner. Grand-
264 father presides, sitting on the *k'ang* or heated sleeping-
platform. Grandmother sits down only if invited by
the guest to come up on the *k'ang*. If there is no guest,
both grandfather and grandmother sit on the *k'ang*.
The younger sons squat on their heels on the floor, in
front of the *k'ang*, eating with chopsticks out of a bowl
held in the left hand; the elder sons are allowed to sit
on the edge of the *k'ang*. The staple of the meal is
usually barley-flour noodles. Grandfather reaches out
from the *k'ang* and puts some meat and vegetables in
each bowl. Each, as he finishes his meal, licks his
bowl clean and hands it to his wife to be washed. While
the grandfather is sitting on the *k'ang*, none of the
daughters-in-law may sit on the floor; they must re-
main standing.

596 It is disrespectful to present a cracked bowl to a
• 272 guest. After the food has been eaten, tea is served in
the same bowl. Whether food or tea is served, the bowl
must always be filled to the brim. Bowls or dishes must
always be presented with both hands. Tea is poured
with the right hand, while the left hand is held toward the
guest, palm upward.

596 One must never step over a person who is sleeping or
606 lying down. Fathers and daughters-in-law must always
291 keep some distance between them. When there is a
quarrel in the family, the first reproach by a daughter-
in-law is always that "distance has not been kept."
This standard of propriety is common to Monguors and
Chinese. A daughter-in-law is not allowed to appear
before the elder generation or guests bareheaded or
without wearing either a long gown or a skirt covering
her trousered legs. Only when a daughter-in-law is
visiting her own mother's home may she go bare-headed.
In her husband's home she must always wear a gown

FOOD, DRINK, AND NARCOTICS

262 The diet of the Monguors is frugal. Meat, which with
796 milk and milk products was the staple food of their
527 nomad ancestors, has long been a luxury. Like the
Chinese, they now eat meat for half a month at the
New Year, on the third of the third moon, the fifth of
the fifth moon, the fifteenth of the eighth moon, and the
eighth of the twelfth moon. Apart from these feasts, they
eat meat only at weddings, when children have been
born, at funeral feasts, or when they have distinguished
guests. For such feasts, a sheep is killed. In the short
summer rainy season it is also customary to kill a sheep
when there is rain for several days, preventing them
from going out to the fields; and it is also customary to
slaughter a sheep when the harvest is carried in. Meat
is always boiled. Roasted or broiled meat is very seldom
eaten and is not considered tasty.

[462] Every family slaughters its own animals. The
231 slaughtering is never done by women, who are expected
to produce life, not to destroy it. Most Monguor men
cease to do any slaughtering when they become about
fifty years old, owing to the lamaistic belief that it is
not fitting for a man who is approaching the time of his
own death to slaughter animals, for fear of being re-
incarnated as an animal.

Cows, oxen, and pigs are slaughtered by cutting the
throat. Sheep are often choked. Another method of
slaughtering sheep—the traditional Mongol method—is
to turn the animal on its back with the head pointing
west, stretching the skin tight over the breast. A slit
is then cut in the skin, and the butcher slips in his
hand, seizes the heart, and jerks it loose. The sheep
dies instantly and no blood is shed outside the carcass.

The Monguors very seldom slaughter horses, mules, or
donkeys. When these animals grow old they are either
sold or allowed to live until they die a natural death.

[262] The meat of horses, mules, and donkeys is never eaten,
nor do the Monguors allow the use of their cooking
kettles for boiling such meat.

Chickens are usually killed either by cutting off the
head or by thrusting a pin into the brain.

262 All Monguors abhor the meat of marmots. Marmot
fat is used as a salve on the saddle sores of horses and
mules, but as food the Monguors say, "Marmots are to
us Monguors what pigs are to the Mohammedans."

[715] There is a small religious sect among the Monguors,
known as "those who fast," the members of which never
eat meat or garlic, or drink wine.

• [272] In the morning the Monguors drink a cup of tea and
eat a piece of bread when the sun has risen in the sky
"to the height of a post." Salt is always put in the
boiling tea. In many families only the parents and the
oldest son drink tea; the other men, and all the women,
drink only water with a little milk in it. (The Chinese,
of course, do not use milk in tea or in any other way.)

[252] The bread is made from barley flour and is either
steamed or baked. Ordinary people seldom eat wheat

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this object must naturally be very important; with poor people the bride price rarely exceeds 400 head of livestock of different kinds.

Schotter, *Anthropos*, notes on tribes...;
p. 344: At their betrothal the Inag-hoang-miao barbarians give a horse as earnest.

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This day is again a lucky day, chosen in advance. The day being set, leave is taken, and the go-between returns to the family of the son-in-law to congratulate it on the good intentions he believes he has found at the home of the bride's parents.

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On the day agreed upon the go-between comes to get final instructions before going to the bride's home. At the bridegroom's home he finds two relatives of the family, who are good speakers and have been invited by the family to accompany him and help him in the discussion. Tea /27/ and gin are drunk, and the family earnestly begs the three friends to do their utmost to avoid big expenses for them.

Having arrived at the bride's home with the traditional small jug, they find two relatives of this family also, who have been invited to take the family's part in the discussions. They do not delay in beginning after the presentation of the gin. On both sides care has been taken to invite the best speakers. These discussions differ entirely from those of the Chinese.

When the T'ou-jen have the floor, they keep it for ten, fifteen minutes without being interrupted; they make real little speeches. They tell you the most ordinary things with imperturbable seriousness, and everyone present listens with the liveliest interest. One after the other starts over again from the beginning; there is no end to it. On the whole they know in advance on both sides, considering the circumstances of the family, where the discussion will end. But /28/ custom requires a brilliant contest in eloquence. One side demands the impossible, and the other offers a ridiculous minimum. Finally, they end up by following the customs which are the rule.

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[782]] [Note on foreign text p. 42 cont.]
the subsequent prayer ceremonies, the master of gifts, who had sacrificed this sheep, had the flesh cooked and a piece served to each of the monks in the temple during a pause in the prayer. It is therefore not surprising that the lama receives a loin of mutton for his fee. Since the Tujen, however, do not sacrifice a sheep in the presence of a lama (cf. the chapter "The Mani-tree"), it seems to be a matter of not performing the killing itself before the eyes of the lama or in the same yard.

[782] people give much more, for instance, beautiful horses, ornamental pendants, cloth, etc. When it is a matter of great occasions, a prayer service is even ordered for the monastery during the time that the lama stays with the master of gifts. During these days the master of gifts provides all the monks with rice, sugar, butter, and tea. Even pilgrims who stay in [788] the monastery during these days and "stop in" to honor and to pray for the master of gifts are provided for and also receive alms for the journey.

[782] The masters of gifts also usually donate the prayer tea
[272] for the entire monastery, which is drunk during the ceremonial
[354] in the prayer hall, for example, at funerals, etc. Often they also set up a great number of butter-lamps in the temple at this time, or at least they donate the butter for the lamps. [Fig. 6 appears here.]

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574] Return: After the lama has received his gifts, he is ceremonially escorted out of the gate of the yard. An incense offering is again presented, but otherwise no further ceremonies take place. The white horse is brought up, a kang table with a felt mat is set up for mounting, and the lama is lifted into the saddle. Then the men escort him out of the village. There

[640]

764 Hutukhtus and lamas of higher rank often harvest very
 782 large fees; there are people who donate up to two or three horses.
 792 When the relatives accompany the lamas back to the monastery,
 465 they take along a block of brick tea and boil it in the large
 temple kettle for the monks, who sometimes also receive their
 own stipends so that they will pray for the dead. Wealthy people
 • [272] buy up to 300 pounds of rice for this purpose, cook it in the
 [262] temple kitchen with sugar and butter, and feed the lamas with it.
 In addition, each monk receives a bowl of tsamba with pats of
 butter. It is popular then to light butter-lamps in front of the
 [788] temple statues, sometimes up to 1,000 of them. Often a large
 month-lamp is donated, which burns uninterruptedly day and
 night for 29 days; during this time the monastery holds the
 [552] prayer service for the dead. -- Well-to-do families also donate
 to the monastery the elegant clothing and the ornaments of the
 dead, especially of the women. A lama then attaches the name
 of the deceased to the garments and puts them in front of a
 [432] Buddha image in the temple. The garments are later sold by
 the monastery. With the proceeds the monks hold further prayer
 services for the rest of the soul of the deceased.

764 Demand for an accounting by the mother's family:
 602 Whereas the bereaved of the deceased's own family maintain
 a watch night and day kneeling beside the box (13), the relatives

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13. [Foreign text p. 654.] This custom of the deathwatch also seems to be influenced by the Chinese. The bereaved kneel on straw to the right and left of the box, just as the Chinese kneel to the right and left of the exposed corpse. At night they huddle together and put a clay brick or tile underneath as a pillow, after the old Chin. saying: ch'in san, chen k'uai, that is, to sleep on straw, to put a (clay)-brick underneath. -- The deathwatch is compulsory for the generation that owes respect, called

ceived from the Ming emperor the invitation to sur-^{175x}
render. In 1373 he had not yet answered the summons,⁶⁴⁸
and the prominent T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was
ordered to induce him to submit. In 1374 his delegates
arrived at court with the submission. The following
year the emperor created the two commanderies of An-
ting and A-tuan, and to Pu-yen-pu-hua was granted
the title of Prince of An-ting (*Annals of Kansu* 42:
23b; *Annals of Hsining* 31: 9b).

In 1374 the T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was or-
dered to induce the barbarians dispersed all over the
country of Huangchung to submit to the Ming emperor
(*Annals of Hsining* 31: 9b).

In 1375 T'u-ssu Lu followed the expedition of Gen-
eral Pu Yin against the rebel Mongol T'o-erh-chih-pa
in Liangchow, to whose army a severe blow was ad-
ministered. The rebel managed to escape. The em-
peror invited T'u-ssu Lu to call at Nanking to receive
the imperial congratulations. On account of illness he
was prevented from moving to the capital.

In 1376 Hsining T'u-ssu Wang was ordered to par-
ticipate in another expedition of General Feng Sheng
in Liangchow region against the Mongols, plundering
the country. Shih-chi-ku, Nan-t'ai and others surren-
dered with 1,000 men, and also the Mongol T'o-lin,
with his 2,200 subjects (*Annals of Kansu* 42: 40b).

In 1377 T'u-ssu Wang was ordered to join the expe-
dition of General Pu Yin against the Tartar chief Yeh-
su-t'o-huo and others who again plundered the Liang-
chow country. They suffered a severe blow and 1,000
of their brigands were killed. Then T'u-ssu Wang
followed the expedition of General Feng Sheng in Kan-
chow and Suchow where 1,890 families surrendered
(*Annals of Kansu* 42: 40b).

In 1378 T'u-ssu Lu Ah-shih-t'u, oldest son of T'o
Huan, fought and took prisoner Ta-kuan-tieh-chih, a
chief of plundering Tibetans, living in the mountains
between Ku Lang and Liangchow.

General Teng Yu in 1370 had pacified the country
of Kui Te situated 220 li south of Hsining, on the south-
ern borders of the Yellow River. In 1376 he had
founded the So of Kui Te, leaving a garrison of 500
horse troops and 500 colonists, ordering them to till
the soil and provide the subsistence of the garrison
(*Annals of Hsining* 25: 15b; *Annals of Kansu* 57:
2a). In 1378 Kui Te was attacked and plundered by
the Tibetan Ha la kui (*Annals of Hsining* 27: 9a; *An-
nals of Kansu* 46: 25b), who also devastated the Koko-
nor region. T'u-ssu T'o-erh-chih-shih-chieh was or-
dered to fight the brigands (Monguors I: 34).

BUREAU FOR EXCHANGE OF TEA AGAINST HORSES

The year 1378 was very important on account of the
establishment of the bureau for the exchange of tea
against horses. Each year 3,500 horses would be ex-
changed in the city: first-class horses exchanged for

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120 pounds of tea, second-class horses for 70 pounds of tea, and third-class horses for 50 pounds of tea. Every tribe under submission was taxed a definite number of horses to be exchanged at the bureau.⁷¹

The very first bureau had been established in 1376 in Ch'in Chou in East Kansu, but on account of the distance between Ch'in Chou and An-ting and A-tuan, and the inconvenience of travel through the provinces, a bureau had later been established in Hsining (*Annals of Hsining* 17: 3b).

The importance of the trading of tea for horses cannot be overrated. On the one hand, it was a means for the nomads to get rid of their horses and secure tea. Tibetans as well as Mongols cannot do without tea, and the stronger the concoction the more delightful it is to them. Even when traveling or indulging in hunting parties where tea could not be prepared, they chewed the tea leaves. The craving for tea among the nomads may be compared with the craving for opium among addicts. On the other hand, the trade was very beneficial to the Chinese. First of all, the cavalry got its badly needed horses in an easy way, and the officials of the bureau also benefitted. They evaluated the quality of the horses according to the gratuity offered by the nomad, cheating in the quality of the tea, and putting the transaction off indefinitely, making the customers wait for weeks on end, or helping them immediately, according to the gratuity presented. Squeeze was the rule in the bureau.

The first benefitters were the traders. The exchange of horses was a boon for the city. Traders from all over Szechwan and Shensi provinces moved into the city with the wares the nomads needed, in addition to the tea they brought with them. The nomads were allowed to bring more horses than the number taxed, and they carried wool, skins, musk, etc., to be exchanged for wares. The exchange of horses for tea was the yearly opportunity for the nomads to make a trip to the city and to provide for the needs of the family.

This institution was also an effective means of attracting the nomads to surrender, for only surrendered tribes were allowed to enter the city and transact business. After two years the institution reached fruition. It was an attraction, especially during the troubled times which were ahead, when the tribes, indulging in plundering each other, had to get rid of the stolen horses. It was an attraction also because the surrendered tribes enjoyed the protection of the empire.

In 1379 both Hsining Wang and Chao t'u-ssu were ordered to participate in the expedition of General Mü Yin, sent to quell the revolt of the turbulent eighteen tribes in T'ao Chou (Tibetans? Uighurs? Shat'o?) where the chief San Fu Shih was taken prisoner. Then T'u-ssu Chao was enjoined to follow the expedition of General Fu Yu-te against rebel Mongols in Yunnan

⁷¹ Huang Ming su-i k'ao, Wen tien ko shu-chuang, Peiping, Chiang-fu-ssu chieh, 1937.